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COMMUNISM

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ORGANIZATION OF A
NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY

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ORGANIZATION
OF A
NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY

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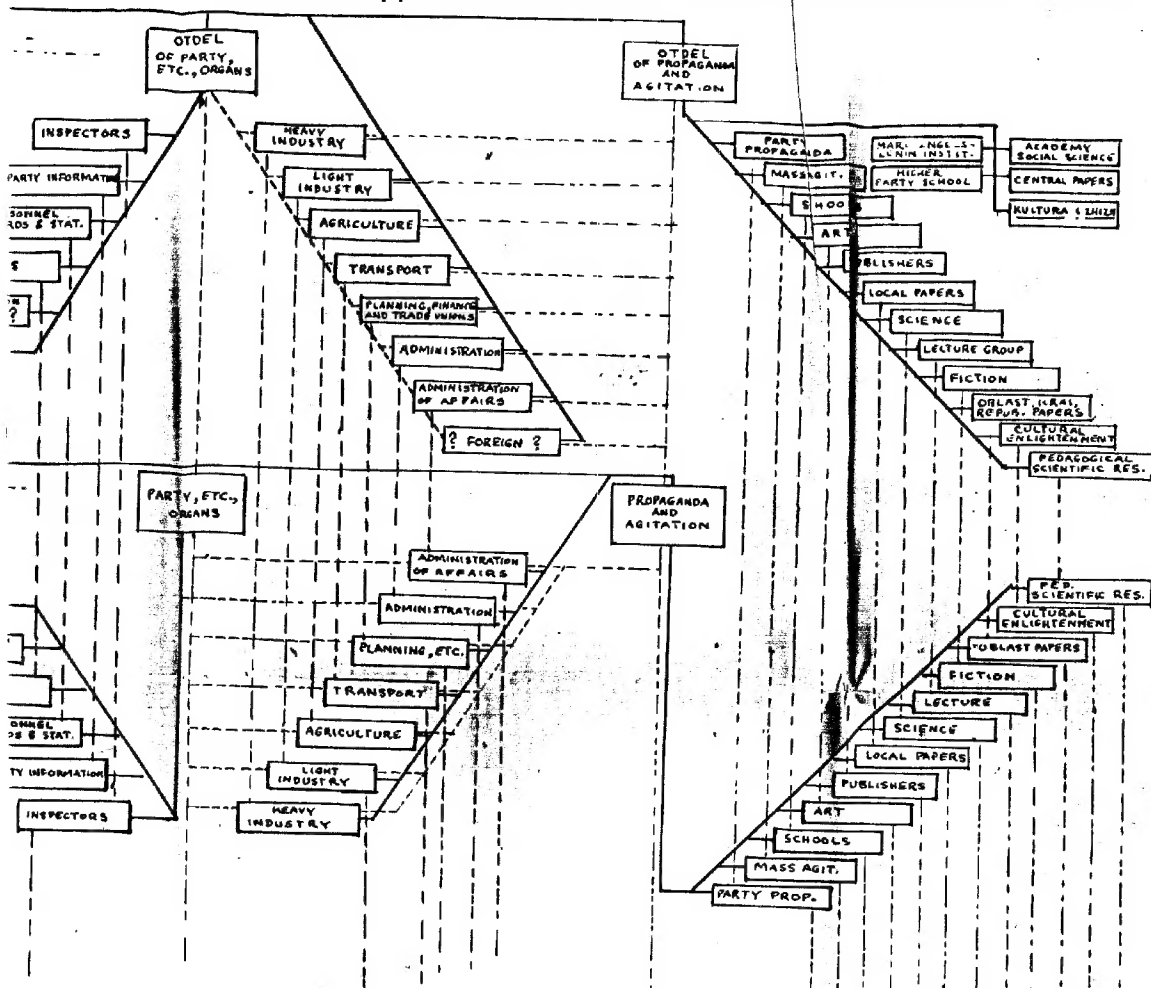
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INTRODUCTION:

The purpose of this paper is to present a preliminary study of the organizational pattern of a typical national Communist Party.

The first part deals broadly with a few significant functions of the party, followed by a more detailed treatment of party structure. The appendix contains charts outlining the organization of a few national parties. More obscure considerations including the many delicate problems connected with clandestine party activity, have been omitted; they will be discussed more fully in a later paper.

Heading the national party is a National Congress, elected by subordinate Regional Congresses. Depending from the National Congress are a series of territorial organizations with descending powers (Regions, Districts, Cells) and a group of national executive organs directing the myriad affairs of party life:

1. Central Committee (CC) -- elected by the National Congress; the controlling body between sessions of the Congress.
2. Political Bureau (Poliburo) -- elected by the Central Committee from among its own membership; directs the party between plenary sessions of the CC.
3. Central Control Commission -- elected by the National Congress in most countries, charged with the maintenance of party discipline.
4. Secretariat -- elected by the Central Committee and headed by a Secretary-General; responsible for the day-to-day business of administration through a group of subordinate departments.
5. Organization Bureau (Orgburo) -- responsible for the broad organizational policies and decisions of the party.

Similar executive organs, with descending powers and competence, and with variations to meet local conditions, are reproduced on each of the territorial levels.

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I. PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

Communists have always put great emphasis on organization. To achieve the overthrow of capitalist society and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat requires a powerful, united political machine:

"A working class without a revolutionary party is like an army without a general staff. The Party is the military staff of the proletariat." (Stalin)

Until 1943, all national Communist Parties as "sections" of the Third International, had a common purpose with it:

"The Communist International is not a sports club which registers records gained in this or that game. The Communist International is a fighting organization of the proletariat which has for its task the overthrow of bourgeois rule" (Vassiliev)

At its Fifth World Congress in 1924, the Comintern decided to reconstitute the national "sections," making use of the experience gained by the Communist Party in the Soviet Union (CPSU), the mentor and source of inspiration of all other Communist Parties. The subsequent "Bolshevization," along the lines set forth by the Comintern Executive Committee in the 1925 "model statutes" for party organization, achieved a basic uniformity of pattern, the outlines of which are still strikingly evident in the structure of the party in all countries.

When the Comintern was dissolved in 1943, peculiar national needs and leadership of a few parties caused some minor structural changes. The basic design, however, of a series of territorial echelons under the central complex of national administrative organs, has remained similar.

A. Democratic Centralism

Communists believe that their party is based fundamentally on the principle of "Democratic Centralism." This doctrine, expounded by Lenin when the party was still an underground, revolutionary organization, emphasized the necessity for centralized control, democracy being envisaged by Lenin as evolving when the party became legal and free elections by secret ballot could determine the policy of the National Party Congress. This, however, is as far as the "democratic process" goes: the decision of the majority of the members of the National Party Congress is binding upon all; no question can be, nor is, entertained. It can be seen that free election, as it is understood in the West, is easily subverted within the party through the power of executive organs to co-opt additional members

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who have submitted to no elective process whatever. The Central Committee prescribes the methods to be followed in elections, and probably restricts the voting to a single list of "approved" nominees, even in the election by the congress of members for the Central Committee.

As is true of most well-oiled political machines, the most potent restriction on democracy within the party is the purely personal power of its leaders. Their word, when delivered to the type of mentality inevitably produced by a system of "iron discipline," is the law, and no quantity of democratic forms can amend it.

The centralization of power within the party will become apparent as this paper progresses. Its purpose is summarized by the following statement:

"In order to function properly and to guide the masses systematically, the Party must be organized on the principle of centralism, having one set of rules and uniform Party discipline, one leading organ--the Party Congress, and in the intervals between congresses--the Central Committee of the Party; the minority must submit to the majority, and various organizations must submit to the centre, and lower organizations to higher organizations. Failing these conditions, the party of the working class cannot be a real party and cannot carry out its task in guiding the class."

(Short History:CPSU)

B. Party Discipline

The party can be an effective instrument for the winning of the proletarian revolution only if its members practise an "iron discipline." "Unity of will" and "united action" depend on the observance of a "common proletarian discipline, equally binding on all party members, both rank and file." It "does not preclude but presupposes criticism and conflicts of opinion... does not preclude but presupposes conscious and voluntary submission, for only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline." The religious flavor is unmistakable.

Discipline is maintained in its simplest, most direct form by means of specific punishments for particular infractions of party statutes and directives. For such breaches, for nonpayment of dues, mishandling of funds, or for conduct reflecting adversely on the party, a member may be punished by reprimand, suspension from office or membership, or expulsion.

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The executive authority of the organization concerned decides such cases, but convicted members may appeal to the next higher echelon. Only the Central Committee can order expulsion, and its decision may be appealed to the Control Commission or to the National Congress.

More important and altogether more pervasive is the disciplinary influence exerted by those agencies that keep up a constant surveillance of all the activities, associations, ethics, and ideological attitudes of all members. Such work, whether it be done by regularly constituted party organs as the Control Commissions, or by informal agents as the militants, "watchers," traveling inspectors, etc., serves to preserve the party's purity against "deviationism" and its integrity against disruptive factionalism. The effective use of patronage and rewards supplements the work of the surveillance agencies.

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II. ASPECTS OF ORGANIZATION

A. Membership

In general, the party will accept into membership anyone 18 or more years old, so long as he agrees to submit to the program and the discipline, to pay his dues regularly, and to work actively within one of the primary party organizations. It is usually required that he be introduced by one or more members in good standing to vouch for his reliability, and that he serve a probationary period of six months to a year. Depending on their political status, some parties demand a longer probationary period, and most statutes exclude known troublemakers, habitual drunkards, ex-Fascist functionaries, etc. In practice, however, parties are not as discriminating as their statutes. Some do not even demand complete acceptance of Marxist ideology so long as the recruit agrees not to try to subvert other members to his own errors. Wrong thinking is the result of ignorance, which the party confidently believes it may remedy by intensive instruction.

Following enrollment as a candidate, for which the examination into his background may be more or less complete, the recruit is systematically and thoroughly indoctrinated with party ideals and practices by means of regular schools, discussion groups, libraries, lectures, and by the example set by older members as they lead him into the activities of his organization.

B. The Cadre

The basic function of the party as "the vanguard of the proletariat" leading the "ignorant" or "misled" masses of workers and sympathizers toward the final end of revolution by strategems of attack or retreat, reflects itself in the Communist attitude toward the leadership problem. Obviously, the party can discharge its basic function only if it has at its disposal a maximum of trained professionals--party officers, organizers, agitators, propagandists, technicians, strong-arm men, etc.--who are skilled enough to translate the party program into action terms. In Communist parlance, the party, in order to be effective as a political instrument, must have a "cadre" of trained action personnel. The term "cadre" has been frequently encountered in Communist literature since the Comintern urged its sections to develop into "cadre parties." The general meaning of the term has been described by an Austrian Socialist as follows:

"Cadre, in the French language, means frame. In military language, cadre means a permanent stock of commissioned and non-commissioned officers whose task it is to organize and assign the mobilized reserves in case of war. The military cadre must be composed of officers and non-coms trained in such a

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"fashion as to be able to direct and organize the mobilized reserves. It (the cadre) must prepare the mobilization of reserves already in times of peace; it keeps constant track of the reservists slated to be drafted in case of war. It registers them, and advises them where to report in case of mobilization, and what functions to assume in such case. It calls the reserves for maneuvers. Only by the fact that the cadre is in constant touch with the masses of reservists during times of peace, is it able to discharge its duty in times of war."

This military concept, then, underlies the term "cadre" whenever used by Communists. Roughly speaking, the "officers" of the military cadre are equivalent to functionaries of the party, and the "non-coms" to such party personnel which are assigned specific party jobs (organization, recruitments, training, etc.) The "reservists" accordingly are constituted by the rank and file membership and by the sympathizers who are called to action by the "cadre".

The development of an emotionally and intellectually well-suited cadre is a prime function of the party. The party is in constant search of such personnel, and selects them from among a type of members commonly referred to as "Activists" or "Militants": i. e., men or women of the action type who are willing and able to "do something for the party." The importance of an efficient cadre is overriding and expresses itself in various ways. The higher cadre of party functionaries gets on the party pay roll in order to be freed from the necessity of making a living, and has, especially under the Comintern, frequently received training in the USSR. In an emergency--e. g., when the party is declared illegal--the higher cadre receives special protection and usually manages to escape the police. Special training schools ensure the development of lower cadres into the functionary type. Special machinery exists in order to keep the cadre ideologically secure and to prevent penetration of the cadre by hostile elements.

The cadre system has its problems, especially when the party develops into a "mass party" and absorbs a great number of ideologically insecure members who must be efficiently controlled. Such problems have been recently encountered by the French and Italian parties.

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C. Front Organizations

Lenin early became convinced that the party must have general popular support to achieve a successful revolution. The party itself should be kept "pure," but should organize the masses, who were incapable of submitting to the rigors of party discipline, into Fronts and Auxiliary groups:

"We must create a whole solar system of organizations around the Communist Party, minor committees which would be under the actual influence of our party, (but) not under its mechanical leadership..... (Kuusinen)

There have been established, therefore, in all countries, Fronts for labor, women, youth, students, artists, writers, musicians, scientists, hobbyists of every description--all under actual control of the party, but carefully divorced from any official connection. The influence of the party, which in any country is greater than its mere numerical strength deserves, is due in no small degree to the broadcast spread of its ideas through the Front system.

True Fronts are distinguished from Auxiliary organizations by being ostensibly non-partisan. No matter how well the fact may be disguised, however, they serve the interests of the party through the dominating influence of their Communist leaders.

Auxiliary organizations like the Youth Leagues and Communist women's groups are openly partisan, and are usually built in the image of the party.

D. Fractions

In addition to Fronts and Auxiliary groups, which the party sets up itself, it also attempts to penetrate, and ultimately to dominate, other mass political organizations. Communists who have succeeded in penetrating such a group constitute its party Fraction. Sometimes--e.g., members elected on a party ticket to the national legislature--the existence of the Fraction is no secret; more often, it is carefully concealed (as it is in the case of most trade-union Fractions).

The party controls its Fractions by any one of several different connections. Probably the most usual is the dominating personal presence of top party officials on the governing bodies of a particular union or federation of unions.

Control is sometimes more formalized through the agency of the party's Labor (or Syndical) Secretary. The latter, for example, directs the activities of Fractions within several industry-wide unions in Peru and Paraguay through three-man "boards." The boards are responsible in Fraction matters, not to their respective territorial echelons, but directly to Regional Syndical Secretaries, who pass on to them the instructions received from the national Syndical Secretary.

E. Finances

Each echelon within the party administers its own finances and designates a functionary for its supervision. Over-all direction is exercised by a national treasurer and finance department, sometimes supplemented by the auditing functions of the Control Commission or an Audit Commission.

Initiation fees, dues, and extra levies on members are the chief sources of party revenue. Dues are scaled according to the income of the individual. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Venezuelan party, at least, follows the thoroughly communistic practice of requiring that members holding public office contribute their entire salary to the party's treasury. They are rewarded with a stipend for expenses.

Other sources of income include: donations from sympathizers; subsidies paid by businessmen and others in the hope of avoiding strikes and other party-inspired embarrassments; profits from party enterprises, such as co-operatives and publishing houses; receipts from the sale of literature and admission fees to party lectures, movies, concerts, dances, etc.

Revenues are divided as follows: part is retained by the collecting organization (usually the Cell) for its own expenses; part goes to the next higher echelon; a portion (as much as 50 per cent in some instances) goes to the national headquarters.

Expenses of each organization depend, of course, on the importance of its activities, and include such items as salaries for permanent employees and careerists, printing and distribution expenses incident to propaganda, rental and other housekeeping charges, license fees for meetings and public entertainments, and losses incurred in the operation of party co-operatives, etc.

Financial difficulties present a frequent source of party weakness, although some parties, such as the Italian, are quite prosperous. The seemingly endless fund-raising campaigns carried on by all parties serves not only a monetary purpose, but also gives them a fine chance for agitation.

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III. PARTY STRUCTURE

The basic pattern of organization resulting from the "Bolshevization" of 1925 has survived in its essentials to the present day. Modifications were forced into the pattern in some countries to counter Fascist suppression and to meet the needs of postwar dislocations; nevertheless, the forms laid down in the model statutes are still those to which most parties aspire, and to which they revert whenever political conditions permit them to do so.

The pattern persists because it is efficient, adaptable to changing circumstances, and because it provides a skeleton which may be quickly elaborated to take over all the necessary supervision of government whenever that happy need arises. The organization of the party in the Soviet Union, for example, includes within the standard pattern all the departments, committees and commissions necessary to direct the entire machinery of the USSR. Under the Secretariat of the Central Committee, the CPSU maintains departments for coal, nonferrous metallurgy, electrical industry, transport, agriculture, finance, personnel administration, and many others.

The activities (and, therefore, the organizational establishment) of parties not yet in power are more limited, of course. They center on building and strengthening the party and on breaking down the power of bourgeois institutions and traditions; they therefore concentrate on agitation and propaganda activities.

The party that is being, or is about to be, suppressed, modifies its organization--decentralizing, emphasizing security and disciplinary controls, and shortening its communications channels. Once suppressive measures are lifted, however, it tends to revert to the familiar forms.

An outline of the forms on the national territorial levels follows.

A. National Level

The leading organs of the national party include the National Party Congress, Central Committee, Control Commission, Politburo,

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sometimes an Organization Bureau, and a Secretariat controlling the activities of a group of administrative Departments.¹

1. The National Party Congress is the "supreme organ" of the party. It comprises delegates elected by Regional Congresses in proportion to the numerical and strategic importance of each region according to rules and methods prescribed by the Central Committee. The statutes of most parties provide for a congress every two years, but actual convocation by the Central Committee is usually much less frequent. The last All-Union Congress of the CPSU was in 1939.

Nonvoting guests to the Congress almost invariably include representatives of foreign Communist parties, members of Auxiliary organizations, and representatives sent by territorial units in addition to their regular, voting delegations.

Broadly policy-making, the functions of the congress involve review and criticism of past and proposed party programs. The agenda for the debate on programs, political line, and statutes is determined by the Central Committee, which also makes "suggestions" for any revisions.

A meeting of the party congress is always made the occasion for a showy display of Communist "democracy" and solidarity, but its real power is vague; the All-Union Congress of the CPSU has never been known to reject any proposal put to it by the Central Committee.

The really effective authorities of the party--the Central Committee and Control Commission--are elected by the congress, which delegates to them its executive and policy-making power.

2. The Central Committee (CC)² is the leading organ of the party in the intervals between congresses. Numbering between 25 and 60 members,

1/ The National Congress is elected. In addition, the Central Committee may occasionally call together the administrative officials of the national and regional levels in a National Conference. Special conferences may also be called whenever the need arises. The Italian party recently held an "Organizational Conference" of all functionaries who had anything to do with the work of party organization. Similar conferences, general or special, are often held on other territorial levels of the party.

2/ The CC is usually so-named. It may also be called, as it is in the United States and Brazil, the "National Committee."

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plus alternates (or candidates), who have a "consultive" vote only, the CC is responsible for the elaboration of the party policy, the enforcement of the statutes, and the execution of the program; in short, for the whole operation of the party. It directs its political and organizational work, controls its finances, and represents the party in its dealings with non-Communist organizations.

The CC comprises most of the important leaders of the country, and is hence the arena in which significant personal struggles and clashes on policy occur. Factions developing from such differences often operate as a chief source of party weakness.

Because of its size, the CC is called into plenary session by the Politburo only two or three times a year. Between sessions, the party is run by the theoretically subordinate bodies of the Central Committee--which elects them from its own membership--by the Politburo and the Secretariat.

In addition to its general policy-making and executive functions, the CC convokes national congresses and conferences and submits to the congress the program which the Politburo has drafted. Finally, the CC is responsible for the maintenance of discipline and the decision to expel any party member. Most of the work put out in the name of the Central Committee is actually done by other bodies, such as the Politburo, Secretariat, and Orgburo.

3. The Political Bureau (Politburo)³ consists of the handful of top leaders who really direct the party.

Specifically, the Politburo is charged by the CC with the direction of party affairs in the intervals between sessions of the larger body. It is responsible for the preparation and supervision of the political line.

3/ Called variously:

Political Bureau	Most countries
Executive Committee	Argentina and Brazil
Directorate	Italy
National Board	United States

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Members of the Politburo habitually assume direct supervision over the most important administrative department of the Secretariat.

Occasionally, as in China, Japan, and Yugoslavia, smaller bodies have grown up within the Politburo. These are organic, if highly secret, institutions, and should not be confused with the cliques that are common to most parties.

4. The Organization Bureau (Orgburo), when it exists (as it does in the USSR, Bulgaria, and Italy,⁴ is technically a subcommittee of the Central Committee. It is responsible for the elaboration and promulgation of the party's organizational policies. The "Organizational Commission" of the Italian Directorate, for example, has recently developed the new statutes of the party and publishes its "Organizational Guide," a handbook prescribing principles and techniques to be used by party organizers at all levels. The most important function of the Orgburo is to supervise the selection, training, and distribution of functionaries throughout the party.

Many countries apparently omit the Orgburo, in which case policies affecting organization are probably determined by the Politburo. The current business of organization is handled by the Organization Department of the Secretariat.

5. The Central Control Commission⁵, elected in most countries by the National Congress, supervises the maintenance of discipline and the execution of the party line. Its importance is traditionally very great.

4/ The Italian party apparently has two "Organization Commissions," one of them being responsible to the Directorate and the other, a "Work Commission" of the Secretariat. It is the former which we treat as corresponding to the Orgburo of the CPSU.

5/ Organs thought to have some of the functions of the Control Commission are the following:

National Commission	Argentina
High Control Commission	Italy
Supreme Disciplinary Tribunal	Chile
Central Commission for Political Control	France

The party in the Western zones of Germany apparently has no control commission. It is thought that the "Personal Policies" department of the Landesvorstand controls party discipline.

In the CPSU the Control Commission operates through boards on the top levels of all party and governmental interests: it has groups for heavy industry, light industry, naval affairs, food and trade, education and public health, foreign relations, and many others. The boards ensure the enforcement of party decisions, investigate the work of all party organizations, and prosecute those accused of violations of party statutes and discipline.

In some parties the power of the Control Commission is apparently limited. It may be charged merely with financial supervision; in Italy, it seems to serve as a court of appeals from decisions of lower party organizations. In any event, the problem of security being so delicate, and an internal security system being so generally unpopular, the work of the Control Commission is always well screened.

6. The Secretariat, comprising a Secretary-General and one or two Vice-Secretaries elected by the National Congress, directs the current administrative business of the party.

For the administration of specific areas of party interest, the Secretariat maintains various departments, which fall broadly into two categories: (a) those which are concerned with the internal affairs of the party, such as finance, organization, etc.; and (b) those which administer party affairs touching the life of the country, such as labor, agriculture, agitation-propaganda, etc.

The Secretary-General, by his close supervision of all party activities, is usually the most powerful of its leaders. Stalin drew his initial authority from this very source. The Secretary, as well as the heads of the most important administrative departments, is inevitably a member of the Politburo.

7. The Administrative Departments,⁶ which are most obviously essential to the operation of the party machine and the achievement of its political program, are the following: Organization, Agitation and Propaganda, Finance, Labor, Youth, Women's, and sometimes Cadre (Personnel).

6/ Called variously: "Section," "Committee," "Commission," "Bureau," and "Department." Many parties are not consistent in the nomenclature of even their own Secretariat.

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a. Organization. This department is responsible for administrative questions surrounding the establishing, reorganizing, reallocating, deactivating, and regrouping of party organizations; also; for the machinery and techniques of recruitment, selection, distribution, and promotion of functionaries. When a party has no cadre department, as is often the case, the organization department also handles personnel matters.

The great importance attaching to the work of organization has already been mentioned. It is probably effected in the following sequence:

- (1) the Orgburo, consulting with the Politburo, determines the needs of the party and issues necessary directives and plans;
- (2) the organization department, which probably helped to devise the plans and which provided the necessary background statistics for their formulation, elaborates them and reduces them to working instructions;
- (3) organization functionaries on lower party levels receive the instructions, correlate them with existing local conditions, and ensure their execution.
- (4) Initially, and throughout the process, the cadre department (or the Org department, if the party omits the former) supplies personnel information without which organizational work could be neither devised nor carried through.

Ultimately, all such work is completed by the activities of the party organizers, whose chief task, aside from such specific orders as they may receive,

"consists of seeing that every party member as well as sympathizer should be constantly drawn into day-to-day work, attention being concentrated upon the most important sectors of the class struggle."
(Vassiliev)

Clearly, organizational matters involve, not only the party itself, but the structure and activities of Auxiliaries, Fronts, and Fractions, as well. Some of the aspects of organizational work so far as it concerns structural matters are illustrated by the duties of a lower (a district) organization:

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"The... committee must systematically check the expediency of the organization of the cell, carrying out regrouping of the members of the cell in order, in each separate case and at each concrete moment, to concentrate the best forces of the party around the most important sectors of the class struggle."

(Vassilieve)

Selection of "the most important sectors," is, of course, a policy decision, and is taken by the Organization Bureau. The latter, then, works out the strategy in the face of certain conditions and in view of the desired objectives; the organization department obtains its execution through the tactics of organizers.

The organization department must work very closely with other administrative departments (e.g., Youth, Women's, Labor, and Agit-prop) occupied with various party Front and Auxiliary groups in order to carry out the party program and to draw as many sympathizers into the party orbit as possible.

It is interesting to note that the organization department sometimes devotes itself to considerable detail. A recent directive of the Organization Commission of the Italian party exhaustively prescribes personnel methods to be followed by lower levels in the compilation and reporting of statistics. The purpose of organizational research it stated thus:

"In order to make use of all the energies of the party, it is important first of all to know its composition--the number of women, young girls; how many are partisans, (the) social and professional categories they belong to, what categories they are assigned to, (the) number of members in each syndical union, mass organization, club; number of voters in the party, etc... In this manner it is possible to study concretely the organizational problems, to correct the defects of our organization....."

"Political battles cannot be fought without knowing the aim or scope of these battles. A party is not well organized without knowing its organization."

b. Cadre. This department, when it exists, has two general functions:

- (1) it is responsible for the collection and collation of personnel statistics of the party;
- (2) it plays a large part in the selection, training, and promotion of functionaries and in the maintenance of party esprit.

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Most parties have no cadre department. The Cadre Administration of the CPSU is responsible for the selection and deployment of personnel, and maintains departments for industrial personnel, personnel of Soviet organs, a department for the training of party organizers, and several others with unknown functions. The Italian cadre department is apparently concerned solely with (2), above, leaving personnel administrative matters to the organization department. The two "abteilungen" for organization and personal policies of the party in the Western zones of Germany are familiarly and collectively known as the "Kaderabteilung." The "Kaderabteilung" of the joint Socialist-Communist Party (SED) in the Russian zone is thought to be in charge of the inter-zonal party courier system.

c. Agitation and Propaganda (Agitprop)? "Agitation" refers to activities directed to non-Communists for their recruitment and to gain their support. "Propaganda" refers to activities directed to party members as a part of the continuous indoctrination and inspiring program.

The department is responsible for the preparation and dissemination of agitprop materials and programs on a national scale (such as the national party newspapers) and to lower party organs, whose agitprop work the national department supervises. Its activities include the organizing and supervision of the party school system, and the publication of various party newspapers and other literature. In some countries (Western zones of Germany, Japan, U.S.), its work is supplemented by a "cultural" department which sets up various cultural Fronts, "people's" schools, libraries, workingmen's centers, etc. The "Culture and People's Education" department of the Bavarian party, for example, is organized into subsections to supervise the following activities:⁸

7/ Called variously:

Education and Propaganda	Brazil
Education and Recruitment	Germany/West
a work commission for Agitprop and one for	
Press and Propaganda	Italy
a section for Education and a committee for	
Control of the Press	France
National Education, Agitation and Publications	
Department	U.S.

8/ It is not clear whether this is merely a list of responsibilities, or whether it represents a breakdown of the department into specific subsections.

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(1) Training, propaganda, and information

- (a) Party schools, party and mass indoctrination
- (b) Agitation among the masses
- (c) Archives and library
- (d) Press and radio

(2) Culture and education

- (a) Schools and education
- (b) Universities and science
- (c) Art
- (d) Cultural organizations

The fields of interest of party agitprop are illustrated by the following instructions issued by a leading organizer of the old Comintern:

"...the Communist parties of all countries should, in carrying out the united front from below, make use of the discontent which exists among employed and unemployed workers, organize this discontent, creating all kinds of committees of action, strengthening the revolutionary trade unions, strengthening the ranks of the Communist parties with new members, and carry on the struggle for partial economic demands to the higher stage of mass political strikes, combining them with mass demonstrations....."

(Vassiliev)

d. Finance.⁹ This department is responsible for the day-to-day supervision of party financial policies and practices. It may be supplemented in this work by the Control Commission in countries where the latter has a supervisory interest in finances. Sources of revenue and objects of expenditure are reviewed elsewhere in this paper.

e. Labor.¹⁰ The labor department supervises the vital work of the party connected with the country's organized labor. It directs the penetration of non-party unions, the organization of party labor Fronts and

9/ Called variously:

National Finance Commission Brazil
(Some reports indicate that there may be a separate treasurer).
Central Commission for Control of Finances France
Treasury Germany/West

10/ Sometimes referred to as "Syndical" department.

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Auxiliary groups, of agitation among the working class, and the direction of party Fractions in non-Communist labor organizations.

f. Youth. This department directs the work of the party among organizations of the nation's youth and, like the labor department, is responsible for the establishment and direction of party youth Fronts and Auxiliaries, and for Fractions within penetrated youth groups. The Auxiliary youth organization--e.g., any Young Communist League--is separate from the party, but is built on the party model. The lack of organic connections does not in the least inhibit the party's authority. It may be screened, but is none the less real. The Mexican party has recently directed that the Youth secretary at each level of the party would serve in an "honorary" capacity on the corresponding executive body of the Youth organization.

g. Women. This department manages the party's activities directed to women Communists and to non-party women. Like the youth department, it carries on agitation and propaganda work, attempts to penetrate all sorts of women's organizations, and controls the work of Front and Auxiliary groups and Fractions. It agitates for the preservation and extension of women's "rights," organizes schools and lecture groups, and trains and supervises women cadres in all party organizations.

Special departments are sometimes established to meet specific needs, such as those that follow.

h. Colonial Affairs. This department, reported to exist in the French party, directs the work of the party as it affects the colonies and colonial elements. Andre MARTY is thought to control the "autonomous" parties of Morocco, Tunis, and Algeria through the agency of the department. A similar purpose may be served by the "Korean Section" of the Japanese party.

i. Agriculture. The National Farm Commission of the American party, the Agriculture and Food department of the party in the Western zones of Germany, and similar departments in other countries organize and direct rural party Fronts, such as co-operatives and farmers' leagues. They agitate for land and other economic reforms benefiting peasants in order to enlist their support.

j. Political Affairs. The Politburo ordinarily directs the activities of the party connected with the higher arms of the civil government, but special departments are sometimes established to co-ordinate such work (e.g., the National Legislation Bureau of the CPUSA, the Electoral

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Campaigns department in Brazil, and the Parliamentary and Community Politics department in Germany's Western zone). The American organ publishes a periodical bulletin which discusses the line members should take toward any particular piece of legislation before the national or state governments.

A few other departments, whose general functions are apparent from their titles and which have been established by particular parties to fit their needs, are the following:

Labor and Social Welfare Policies	Germany/West
Refugee and Prisoner-of-War Matters	Germany/West
Sports	Germany/West
Co-operatives	Germany/West
Economics	Germany/West, Japan
Immigrant Workers	France
Juridical	France
Military Affairs	France, China
Repatriation	Japan
Veterans	United States
Negro	United States
Nationality Groups	United States
Foreign Affairs	United States

B. Territorial Levels

Beneath the central directing machinery, the party is organized successively into Regions, Districts, and Cells.

1. Regions.¹¹ These are the largest territorial divisions of the party. Usually, but not necessarily, they correspond to the largest political divisions of the country. The more important metropolitan areas and the national capital usually stand equal in competence to larger geographical regions.

11/ Called variously:

Province	Argentina
State	Brazil
Federation	Belgium, France, Italy
Province and Border Region	China
Region	Venezuela

The situation in Germany is complicated by the fact that the party in the Western zones is organized on the basis of the Land, rather than the nation. The territorial divisions are successively: Land, Bezirk, Kreis.

The largest division in the CPUSA is the "District," which may comprise a state, part of a state, or more than one state. In the last case, it is superior to the state organization.

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Regional structure follows closely that of the central machinery. Thus, the Regional Congress is the lower-level counterpart of the National Congress, with analogous functions and comprising delegates elected by the Conferences of Districts within the Region. The administrative apparatus is also patterned after the national model, with a Regional Committee, elected by the Regional Congress, a Secretary, and various administrative departments suited to the needs of the particular regional organization.¹²

Some countries (Italy, Japan, U.S.) maintain regular organizations between the national and the regional units. These Inter-Regional organizations group together several Regions under their control to shorten and strengthen the party's lines of communications.

2. Districts.¹³ These are the largest divisions within the Region, and often correspond to actual civil divisions of the nation. A District may comprehend a single city or a rather large area of scattered population.

The directing apparatus of the District is similar to that of the Region, with an annual conference of delegates elected by assemblies of the Cells, and with a District Committee and a Secretary elected by the District Conference. The secretariat includes sections or "responsibles" for the administration of current party affairs peculiar to the needs of the District.

The usual subdivision of the District is the Cell. However, several Cells are frequently grouped together into Sub-District organizations (e. g., the "Sections" of CPUSA), especially in large cities.

12/ The existence of smaller, more potent organizations within the Regional Committee has been reported for Brazil ("Executive Commission") and China ("Standing Committee"). These bodies are presumably analogous to the Politburo on the national level.

13/ Called variously:

Sections	Italy, Belgium, France
Hsien (rural) and Municipal districts ...	China
Radio (area)	Venezuela
(City and county organizations)	United States

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3. Cells.¹⁴ The basic unit of the party is the Cell. There may exist, in some countries, special types of Cells (e.g., Women's, Youth, Soldiers', Peasant, etc.), but none of them is as important as either the Street or Factory Cell. The Street Cell embraces members on a street, or within a block or neighborhood, who cannot, for one reason or another, join a Factory Cell.

The Factory Cell, based on a workshop, factory, minepit, office, dock, etc., is the key party organization. According to Bolshevik dogma, only the proletariat can achieve the revolution:

"The position of the factory worker in the general system of capitalist relations makes him the sole fighter for the emancipation of the working class"

(Lenin)

All others are secondary to the Factory Cell. They supplement, but cannot supplant, its work. All members who can possibly do so, must join a Factory Cell. They are expected to work with their residential cells and to join the latter's activities, but they may belong to only one organization at a time; if possible, a Factory Cell.

The size of a Cell varies between and within countries. The usual minimum membership is 3; the average, about 25; although very large Cells with as many as 1,000 members have been reported. The traditional preference is for small, tightly knit Cells, but this depends upon political conditions and the availability of reliable leaders. The mass-party tendency of recent years made it necessary for a time to distribute the "militants" thinly over a few large cells, but most parties have since reverted to the smaller size. Under adverse circumstances--for purposes of more effective control and for security reasons--Cells of 3 to 5 members is the average.

The Cell Assembly is the meeting of all members in good standing, convoked by the Cell Secretary (who is sometimes called the "Political Secretary") about twice a month. The assembly is a miniature replica of the National Congress, but its competence is naturally limited. The members discuss matters of past and future activities according to an

14/ The term is almost universal. They are sometimes referred to as "Groups" (Europe), "Clubs" (U.S.), "Branch Party Organs" (China), "Primary Organizations" (USSR).

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agenda prepared by the Cell Committee, and elect their leaders and delegates to the District Conference. If the cell contains less than 10 members, it usually has no committee, the secretary serving in its place.

Between meetings of the Assembly, administration is effected by the secretary and committee through "responsibles" for finance, organization, agitprop, training, women's and youths' affairs, etc.

The Cell is the organization through which the life of the party is strengthened by recruitment and training of new members and through which the party exerts its influence on the life of the country. Most of its energies are centered on agitation and propaganda. Some of its more obvious activities include the following:

- (a) to produce and distribute party literature (e.g., newspapers, handbills, pamphlets, posters, etc.);
- (b) to establish and conduct classes and discussion groups in order to attract recruits and to indoctrinate new members;
- (c) to support and participate in the activities of party Fronts and Auxiliary organizations and to penetrate and agitate within non-Communist organizations, with special attention to labor unions;
- (d) to organize and participate in active party agitation (e.g., parades, mass meetings, forums, protest rallies, lectures, etc.);
- (e) to participate in civil politics according to party instructions (e.g., elections, protesting legislation, etc.);
- (f) to collect party funds (e.g., membership fees and dues, contributions from sympathizers, receipts from the sale of party literature and admission fees to party-sponsored events--movies, lectures, etc.).

A series of directives issued by the Central Committee of the Paraguayan party to its regional ("Department") organizations illustrates some of the activities of Street Cells in supporting Factory Cells during a strike and attempted coup. The members of the Street Cells were instructed to:

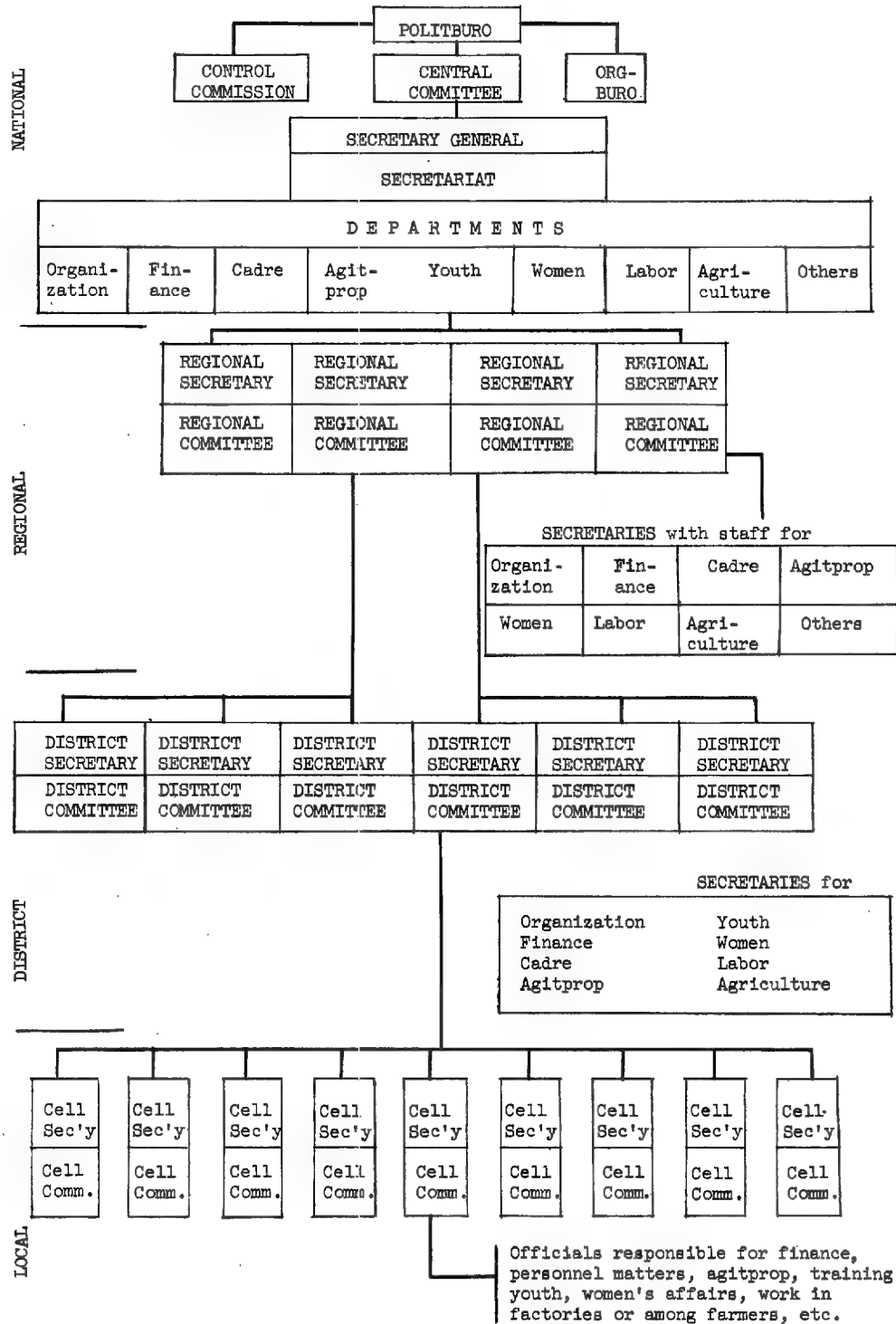
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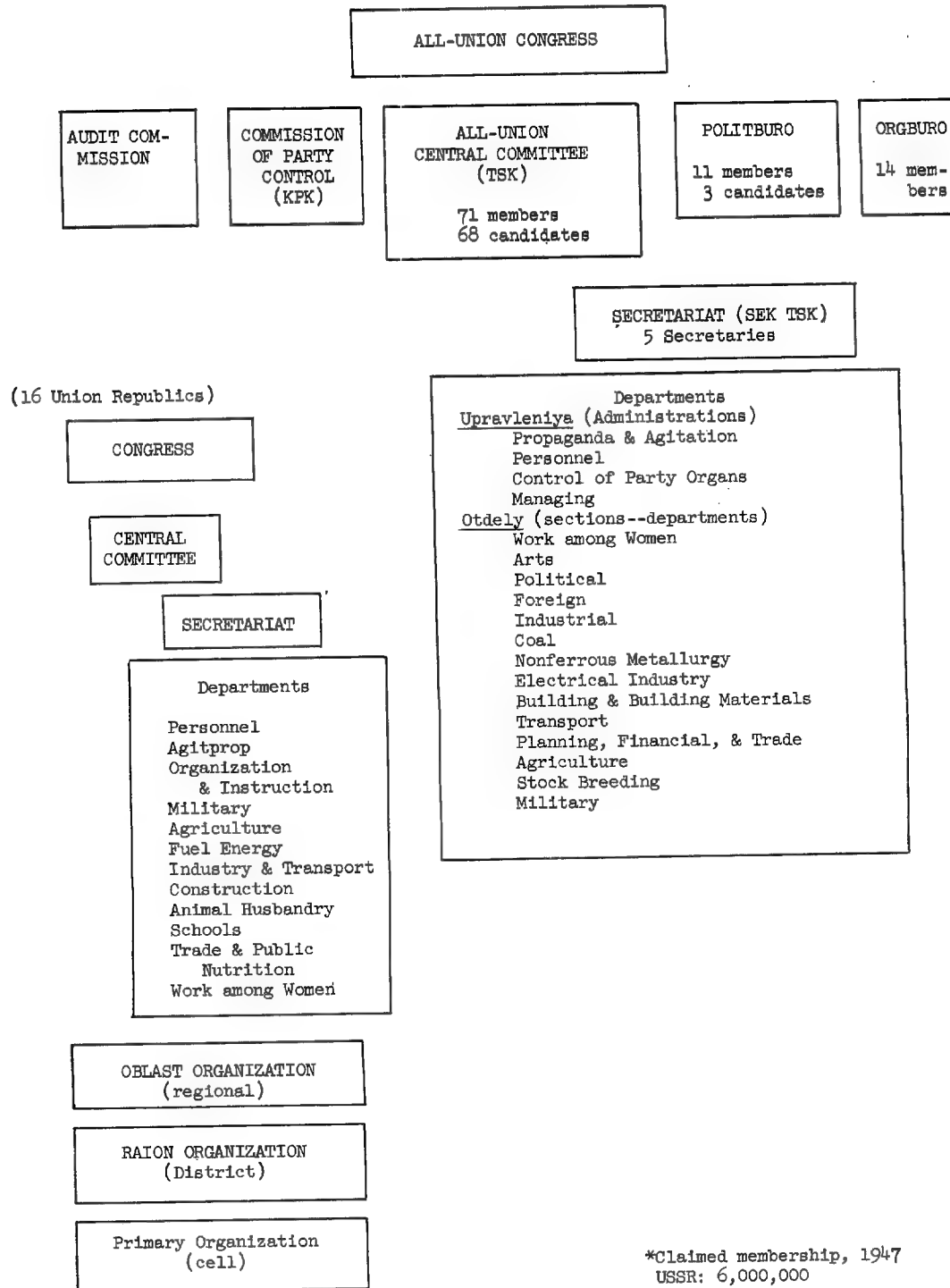
- (a) persuade all workers in their neighborhood and at the factories to join in the strike;
- (b) get the co-operation of sympathizers in joining demonstrations supporting the strike;
- (c) organize special "Action" groups, each with a specific task:
 - (1) to agitate among and get the support of shopkeepers in the neighborhood and to get them to close their shops;
 - (2) to paralyze local street traffic by putting streetcars and automobiles out of commission;
 - (3) to hold flash agitation meetings;
 - (4) to overpower and seize civil arsenals, police, militia, and strikebreakers and to seize the latters' arms for their own "protection";
 - (5) to build platforms at the factories and to make speeches from them.

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ORGANIZATION AND CHAIN OF COMMAND
OF
A TYPICAL COMMUNIST PARTY

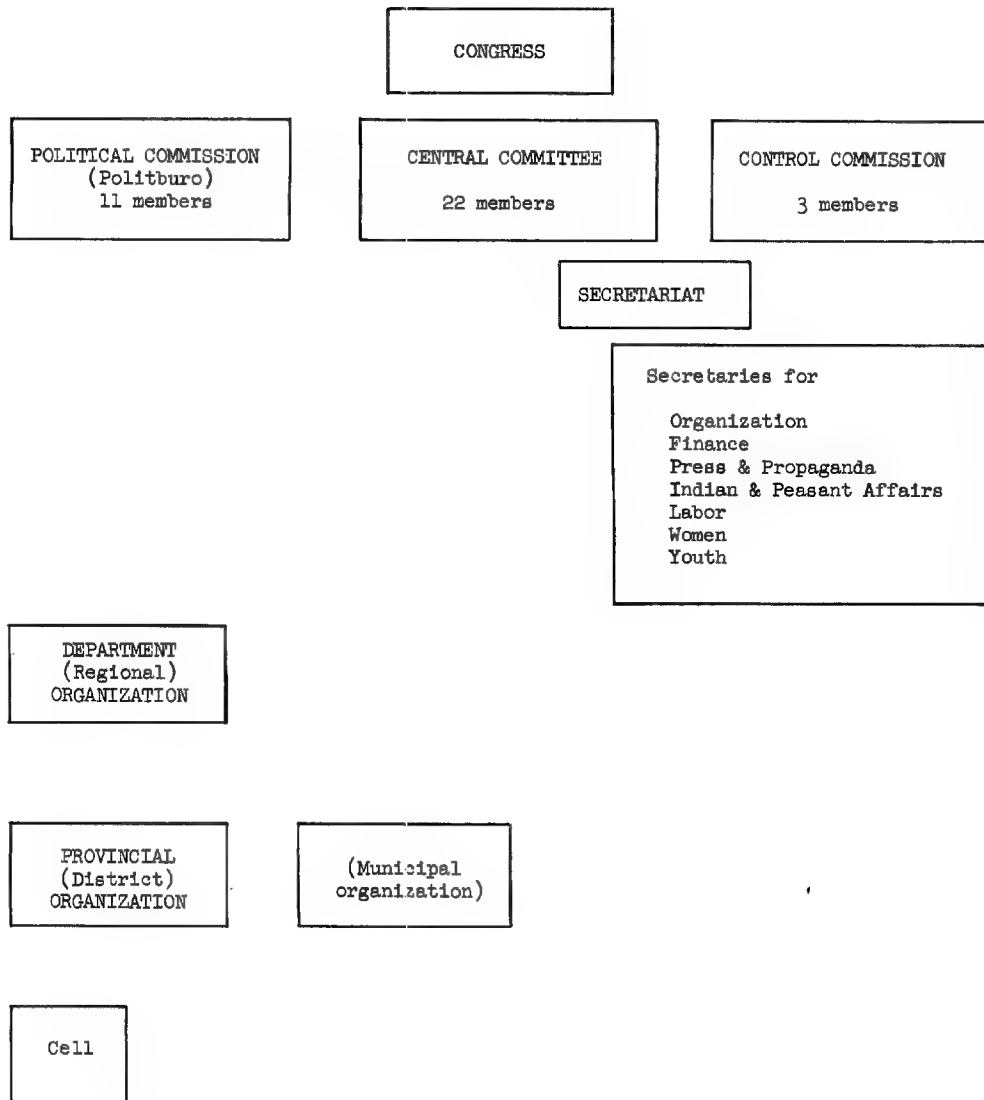


COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION: CPSU*
(VKP (B))



*Claimed membership, 1947
USSR: 6,000,000

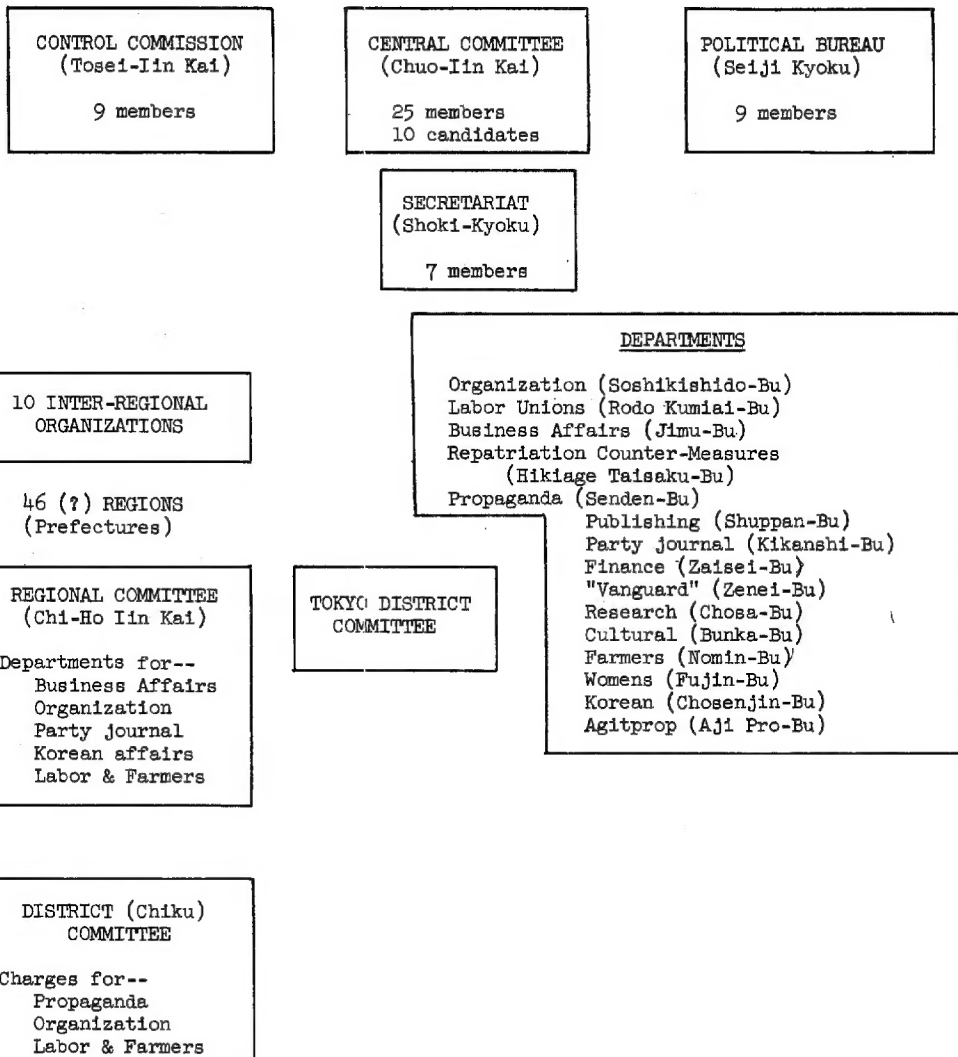
COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU*
(Partido Comunista Peruano: PCP)



*Claimed membership, 1947
35,000

JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY*
(Nippon Kyosan-to)

CONGRESS

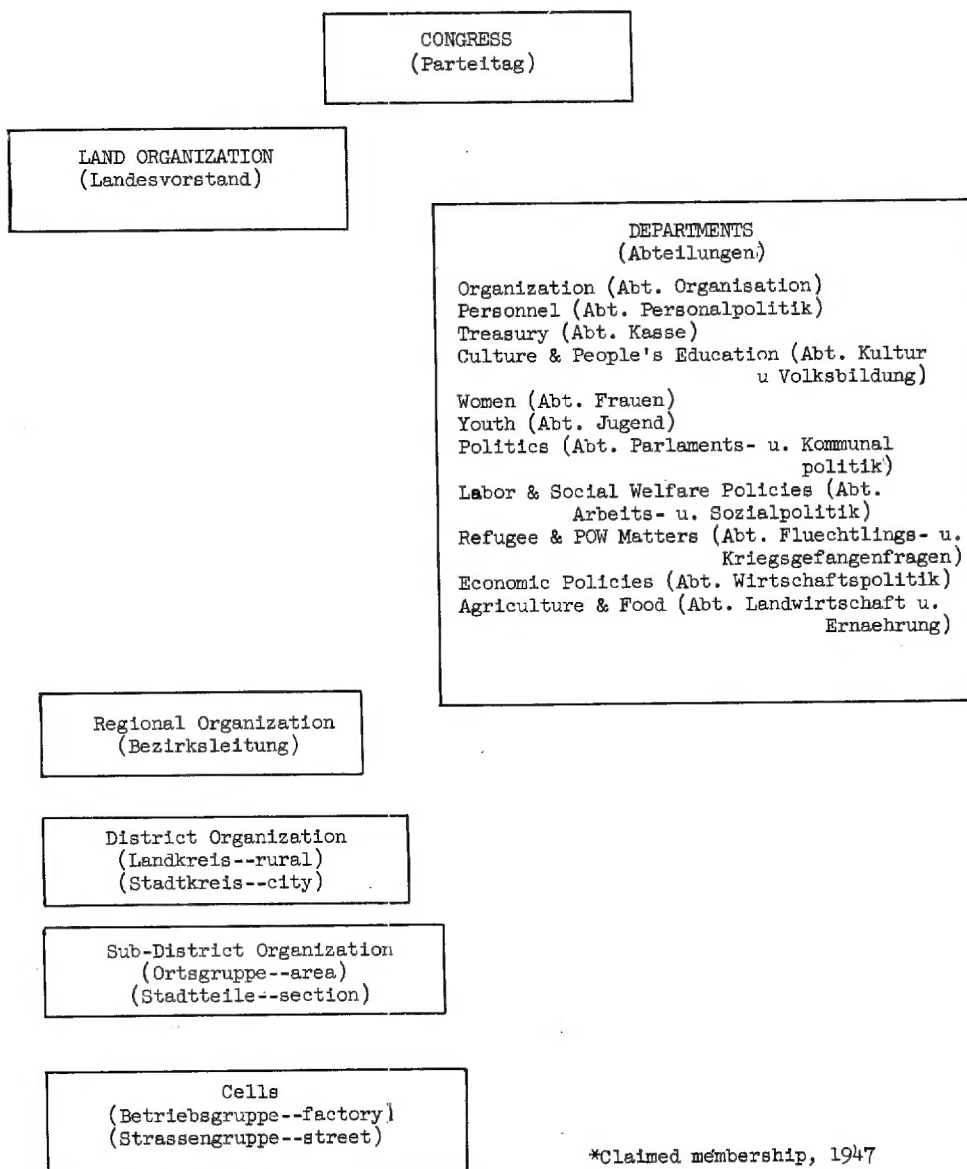


*Claimed membership
October 1947: 16,000

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY*
(Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands: KPD)

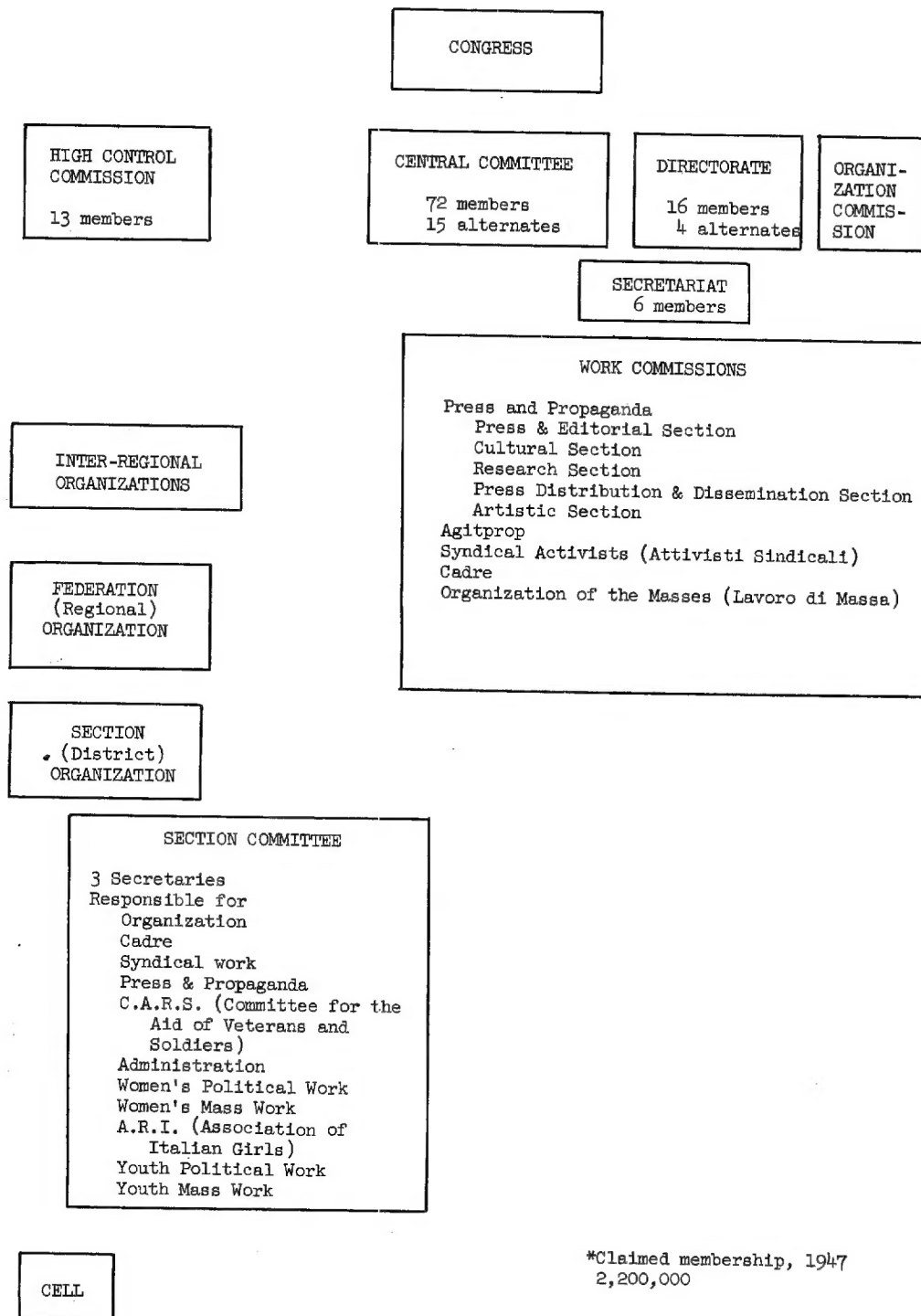
ORGANIZATION IN THE BAVARIAN LAND



*Claimed membership, 1947

Western zones: 350,000
Russian zone : 1,576,000

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY*
(PARTITO COMUNISTA ITALIANO: PCI)



*Claimed membership, 1947
2,200,000

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